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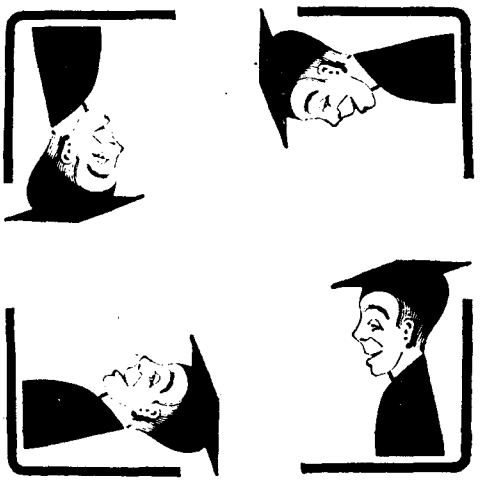

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NEWS & VIEWS

Chile: Assessing Blame

In August, just before the overthrow in Chile of the government of Marxist President Salvador Allende Gossens, a member of the French Communist party's politburo, Etienne Fajon, visited the country and returned to Paris crying "errors."

Fajon, who is a director of the French Communist daily *L'Humanité*, charged Allende and his Unidad Popular coalition with committing serious mistakes by insisting — apparently prematurely — on the destruction of old economic structures, and by not pursuing "with indispensable vigor" the urgent tasks of development of production and productivity.

Other errors attributed by Fajon to Allende:

— The occupation of firms that were not included in nationalization plans.

— Salary policies that sometimes put aside the legitimate interests of engineers and technicians.

— The leftist phraseology of several sectors (particularly that of the MIR — the Leftist Revolutionary Movement) that served as a basis for irresponsible and adventurist positions.

All this, Fajon said, had led the middle classes toward a reaction, had isolated to some extent the working class, and had weakened the base of Unidad Popular.

Fajon's comments came in early September, and were circulated by the Peruvian news agency Latinamerica Press on Sept. 6. On Sept. 11 came the coup . . . Fajon was more accurate than he would ever have wished.

On the other hand, the priests of ONIS (National Office of Social Information) in Lima were slapping the blame for Chile's troubles, not on Allende, but on "beneficiaries of the capitalist system."

In a statement issued just prior to the coup, the priests blasted "North American imperialism" (said to be responsible for the cutting off of credits by international financial institutions), and "the pressures and reprisals of the great multinational companies."

Among the consequences: "the establishment and strengthening of the black market, the flight of currency, [and] strikes which on the least excuse are promoted by liberal professional and labor unions independent of the *petite bourgeoisie* . . ." (The strikes, the priests declared, "are certainly organized by the parties of the right and the center.")

The priests expressed "solidarity with the Chilean *pueblo*." But their main point seemed to be to warn "about the consequences which the interruption of the Chilean process to construct socialism could have for our Latin American countries."

For the Chileans, the priests' warning came too late; for the rest of Latin America—we shall see.

The Butz Way

Credit the *Wall Street Journal* with the latest insight into the type person peopling the Nixon Administration. On Nov. 17, it revealed that Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz worked to get a friend a job as a Washington lobbyist for an organization with a direct stake in policies which Butz's own Agriculture Department set.

The friend was Page Belcher, then a Congressman from Oklahoma, and the ranking Republican on the House Agriculture Committee. When Butz heard last year that Belcher planned to retire from Congress, he whipped off a "Dear George" letter on official stationery to George Mehren, general manager of Associated Milk Producers, Inc., a large dairy cooperative based in San Antonio.

The letter suggested that the Milk Producers "may have an interest in making use of Page's many talents and broad contacts on the Hill." Added Butz: "I know that we can make good use of Page next year as we undertake to hammer out a new agricultural bill, or an extension to the present bill." Left unsaid, noted the *Journal*, was the fact that the legislation would certainly affect the dairy industry.

Mehrens got the point, and Belcher got a job—not with Associated Milk Producers itself, but with a related organization called Thorough Agricultural Political Education (TAPE), formed to channel campaign money to "candidates or causes" beneficial to the agricultural community.

The *Wall Street Journal* conceded that it isn't unusual for ex-Congressmen to turn up in Washington lobbying. "What is unusual," it said, "is for a Cabinet Secretary to try to get one of them a job with a group clearly interested in influencing decisions of the Secretary's department."

Asked whether other Cabinet Secretaries also solicited jobs for friends with private firms, Butz rankled: "That may not be the way other people do it, but it's the way Earl Butz does it."

For Sport: the Poor

If the poor can be exploited one way more, the Brazilian tourist agency AGAXTUR has found it. The agency is running boat trips up the Amazon, a feature of which is some fun and relaxation with "the poor of the Amazon."

AGAXTUR furnishes its clients with plastic bags, in which they are encouraged to enclose small goodies — candles, buttons, matches, food, etc.—for casting upon the waters.

The gesture is supposed to have a humanitarian purpose, but AGAXTUR's brochure makes plain that titillation rates high. "In the fight for grabbing the objects thrown from the ship," says the brochure, "they risk their lives by confronting with their fragile boats the current and the waves produced by the ship."

Odds and Ends

—In deploring declines in the religious education of children in the Archdiocese of San Francisco, Archbishop Joseph T. McGucken revealed that only 35 percent of Catholic children attending public schools are enrolled in CCD classes; that only 70 percent of children baptized in 1965 have received First Communion; and that of children baptized 14 years ago, only 53 percent have been confirmed.

—The Novitiate of Our Lady of Providence, the 42-acre property of the Society of Helpers in posh Chappaqua, N.Y., that closed in the late 1960s, has a new owner. On Oct. 8 it will become the home of the *Christian Herald*, the 94-year-old nondemoninational Protestant monthly. The *Christian Herald*, down from its circulation highs of a few years ago, is still breezing along with 300,000 subscribers.

—Anticipating strong public reaction, Oregon's Governor Tom McCall had a two-foot stack of letters printed up explaining why he signed the bill that makes Oregon the first state in the nation to remove criminal penalties for simple possession of marijuana. The letters, according to Gannett newspapers, are collecting dust in Salem. Fewer than a dozen letters have been received about the new law, and most of them are from grateful parents, not irate citizens. JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Possible, If Remote

Cincinnati, Ohio

To the Editors: Commonweal in an editorial [July 13] referred to Rabbi Bernard Goldenberg as expressing a certain amount of optimism that, eventually, a formula for aid to church-related schools could be found. *Commonweal* itself was less hopeful. I think a solution is possible although, at the present time, remote.

When the Ten Amendments were added to the Constitution in 1791, all schools were religiously oriented. They were entitled to a measure of tax support. The First Amendment in its no establishment clause, simply intended Congress should set up no established Church or prefer one religion to another. It was never intended to prevent tax money from going to church-related schools. It was not until after the Everson Decision in 1947, and based on some statements in that Decision, that the Supreme Court began to rule that aid to church-related schools was forbidden by the First Amendment to the Constitution.

The fictional Mr. Dooley once said that the Supreme Court follows the elections; that is to say, at least sometimes takes into consideration public opinion. Let us suppose that some time in the future, there is a massive amount of public opinion that wants religion put back into education—all education—public or private, for those who want it. All that would be necessary then, would be for five Justices on the Supreme Court to go back and reinterpret the First Amendment's no establishment clause according to the intention of the men who wrote this Amendment. Of course, it would be necessary to reconsider a series of decisions based on the present interpretation of the First Amendment, which then would be obsolete.

It would not be the first time that the Supreme Court has reversed a previous decision. We must also remember that

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AGNEW SPREWED

The ordeal of Vice President Spiro T. Agnew is, above all, further evidence of the callousness and hypocrisy of the President and the henchmen he has chosen to surround him.

We have never admired this Vice President. From the beginning, like his mentor, by cheap rhetoric and innuendo he has usually appealed to the worst instincts of a confused and anxiety-ridden populace—playing on their irrational fears of the young, the intellectuals and the press to shore up his own political power. There may be poetic justice in his being destroyed and discarded by the very political machine he has served with the uncritical loyalty of a Basset hound. But he is a human being. And to see a man totally subjugate his own personality for six years to a "Commander in Chief" and then be systematically undermined by the very clique he has slavishly obeyed should make a nation sick.

Like a number of other Vice Presidents—and Vice Presidential candidates—Agnew should never have been chosen for the job. He had no exceptional intellectual or moral qualities that would make him worthy of the Presidency. He had become Governor of Maryland only because liberals and moderates innocently supported him over a Democratic racist whose only campaign cry was "A man's home is his castle." Nixon liked Agnew's looks, his manly bearing—and thought he saw in him a man he could dominate thoroughly. Through Agnew he could vicariously relish the old eye-gouging, low-punching campaign he himself had perfected as Congressman, Senator and Vice President. Thus Agnew became that most pathetic of human figures, the unrealized man—the man who never became himself because he had no identity, no role other than the role he was assigned. He became George Babbitt, the C-plus version of the American Dream. He has not grown with the office, taking on—along with the limousine, helicopter and other success symbols—some of the dignity which the office can convey. Somehow he still seemed to feel that his prestige could be enhanced by playing golf with Bob Hope and Frank Sinatra.

Now that Agnew is under threat of indictment for graft, the Administration seems to be handing him a new role—sacrificial offering. The President apparently sees the American people as spectators at a Roman circus who

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may be angry at the Watergate scandals but will be appeased by the sight of his Number Two man toppled from power. With an opportunity at hand for the President to give a "new tone" to his Administration, the unrealized man becomes the used-up man.

A "new tone"? The man who ordered the Christmas bombing of Hanoi, who ordered and lied about the years of secret bombing in Cambodia, who presided over the whole subversion of the democratic system known as Watergate, and who has still not satisfactorily explained the sources of his own wealth or the financing of his opulent extra California and Florida homes, will remain in power. The man accused of taking bribes in Baltimore will go. He may be replaced by Nelson Rockefeller, who is still remembered by some—not without reason—as the "butcher of Attica." Or by Melvin Laird who has greased the chute for Agnew's departure. Or by Elliot Richardson who provided the crucial nudge. Or by John Connally, who is built like Agnew, talks like Lyndon Johnson and thinks like Nixon.

If Agnew knows himself to be innocent of the charges, he should stay in office and fight in the courts. The American governmental system is no fragile clapboard cottage that cannot withstand a long winter trial or a public fight. Our traditions are strong enough to weather the replacement of a Vice President and a President too. If truth and justice are sacrificed now for the sake of order they will not be easily regained to protect more vulnerable citizens later on. If Agnew knows himself to be guilty he is entitled to plea-bargain like any other criminal. He can still save his pride by admitting his guilt, taking the consequences without self-pity, and saying what any honest man would like to say about the men and the way of life which have brought him to his end.

Meanwhile, the President's behavior has suggested a new word for the American language: *Sprew* v. (from Greek Spiro Agnew) —tr. 1. to use for political profit and discard. 2. to let bleed or twist in wind. As in, "He was sprewed."

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DISSENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

COUNTRY OF THE BANNED

The South African government some twenty years ago shrewdly provided itself with the ideal law for snuffing out its critics: the Suppression of Communism Act, which permits the Minister of Justice to define all critics as Communists and then, through a ban, transform them into Orwellian non-persons.

It defines Communism as "any doctrine or scheme which aims at bringing about any political, industrial, social, or economic change within the Republic by the promotion of disturbance or disorder . . ." which could include any public demonstration right down to a meat boycott. It allows that "whenever the Minister is satisfied that any person is in any area advocating, advising, defending or encouraging the achievement of any of the objects of Communism . . ." the Minister of Justice may order the person banned. Objective proof is not required, only the Minister's satisfaction that the Act has been violated. Nor can his decision be tested in the courts.

At the end of February 1973 the Minister of Justice, Petrus Pelser, added eight white persons associated with the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), the white English-language university student organization which has been active since 1924, to the list of between 300 and 400 banned South Africans. Three days later he evened things off by adding eight black leaders of the South African Students Organization (SASO), an organization of black students founded in 1969, to the banned; a ban on the new SASO president, Henry Isaacs, followed in July.

The banned are prohibited for five years from attending any social, educational, or political gathering, namely two or more persons including the banned. A banned person might share a meal with his immediate family, but inviting a grown brother or sister would be forbidden. One banned person was refused permission to attend his child's birthday party.

The banned are also prohibited from the premises of any university, publishing office, or factory; they are prevented from contributing in any way to the preparation of a publication or to the instruction of any person other than their own child.

Finally, they may not be quoted in public which means, by a 1948ish logic, that every publication written by the banned and all publications which even quote them are *ipso facto* banned also. It is a chilling experience to enter a bookstore the day following a banning to see shelves which only the day before held, for instance, Richard Turner's *The Eye of the Needle,* now holding other books, as if the banned work did not exist.

The February banning of six NUSAS student leaders, an administrative secretary, Sheila Lapinsky, and a faculty advisor, Richard Turner, fits the typical South African pattern, with the exception of certain telling details. The Parliamentary Schlebusch Commission investigated NUSAS and wrote two non-public interim reports; Prime Minister Vorster himself announced the bannings from the floor of Parliament, while the news-

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papers and the state radio covered the story fully. To be so publicly heralded into anonymity is quite unusual in South Africa.

The Schlebusch reports characterized the NUSAS leaders as "intensely active on the political terrain," a description laudatory in an open society but in South Africa filled with suspicion. As the Commission members envision it, the English-language students who might demonstrate and precipitate racial polarization which could, in turn, bring change in South Africa, are the outermost of three concentric circles of sinister influence.

The second circle is the NUSAS leadership. Here the imaginations of the Commission members seem to have run away with their ability to weigh the evidence. When subversive ideas or scandalous activities were not found, they were imagined or inferred. One banned leader about whom little was learned is characterized as moving "in the shadow border of student politics . . . a message carrier and general contact man. His role has not been crystallized clearly, but is apparently a sinister one." Since several of the leaders live in close proximity in Cape Town, they were unjustly labeled "the commune group." Like Joseph McCarthy, the Commission made the final link between the leaders' speeches and the ultimate evil: "Without wishing to state that a direct connection exists, your commission has to mention that according to the published writing of the South African Communist Party, that party supports a similar policy of polarization."

The Mephistophelian role, in the Commission's mind, is played by Turner, a popular university teacher. Although born and raised in South Africa, Turner obtained a doctorate (1966) at the University of Paris, the presumed source of his "political view, which is nothing other than radical revolutionary theory." Turner's activities, which the Commission found "incredible" since he had a full teaching load, include advising NUSAS officials "on all kinds of matters," writing and speaking. They point out that he was a regular speaker at NUSAS seminars "where young students are brought together in isolation for a few days at a time, to introduce them to student politics," which fits the Commission's image at Turner's ensnaring the innocents in his web of theory.

The Commission produced quotations not only from Turner's public lectures, but also from first drafts of articles and personal letters which had been stolen from his office. One of the items is a letter to his former wife in which he told of advising students against an illegal mass march and suggested a door-to-door canvass by small groups. This purloined evidence was used to show his "political activity among students," rather than his moderating influence.

The bans fell upon the subjects by surprise. Barely two hours before Vorster announced the bans in Parliament, Turner was observing that the Suppression of Communism Act supplied a psychological threat simply by being on the books. He was in a trade union office doing research on the January Durban strikes when someone asked, "Rick, did you hear the news from Cape Town?"

White Afrikaners for the most part believe they live in, as one Nationalist Senator expressed it, a "true democracy." Many English-speaking whites, at least those for whom the leadership of the United Party speaks, would agree, except that they view themselves as the loyal opposition.

Whites, both Afrikaner and English-speaking, can live an affluent life, with black servants and gardeners providing cheap labor, a comfortable life, that is, as long as it is a purely private, non-political life or one in which they give assent to the regime. As soon as they become involved in public affairs by daring to speak out in dissent, risking banning, they live in an authoritarian state.

The 80 percent of the population classified as "non-European" cannot vote for the Parliament which legislates for them, and find all aspects of their lives, public and private, under domination. To Africans this means migratory labor laws, which separate families; resettlement laws, which move families arbitrarily; laws forbidding meetings of more than ten Africans even in the "homeland" Bantustans; and the infamous pass laws, requiring elaborate passes of all Africans in urban areas. This approaches total control of the total lives of the total African population and must be called what it is, totalitarian.

No wonder, then, when I asked a black pastor about the bannings, he said he regarded them as a white problem which whites must fight because his people have too many problems to worry about the bannings. "Look at me," he remarked, "I'm banned every day for life."

RONALD CHRISTENSON

(Ronald Christenson, a member of the political science department at Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minnesota, recently returned from a stay in South Africa.)

COMING

ALAN G. NASSER writes on the crisis gripping state and local governments:

"The accelerated deterioration of our cities and the related cutbacks in public services reflect an integrated network of tendencies resulting from both the contingencies of the fiscal crunch . . . and certain structural features of the U.S. economy as a whole. Together these forces are generating a constellation of public-service cutbacks, debt crises, budget deficits and tax increases whose cumulative impact augurs hard times indeed for that substantial and growing percentage of workers who are dependent on the state budget for wages and/or services."

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THE STYLE OF HELPLESSNESS

MICHAEL NOVAK

Helpnessness is sweetly savored in America. On the other side of the paranoid style is the image of oneself as victim. Arrayed against the victim is the full panoply and power of the State—the Eastern Establishment—the FBI—the Press. (Choose one.)

Thus Jeb Stuart Magruder explained the counter-measures taken by the Committee to Re-elect the President; and thus John Ehrlichman explained the panic that led to the establishment of the White House counterspies. According to the Administration, the truly powerful people in America are the oldline money people of the Northeast, the academicians, the circles that delight in "the powerful liberal press." Against this vast array of power, the Nixon Administration felt stymied, endangered by serious "leaks," threatened by civil disruption and protests and disorders.

Distinguished Senators and Congressmen showed up at inflammatory rallies, to "legitimize" the vast tides of irrational sentiment that threatened "revolution." The times *were* a'changin—if Staughton Lynd could imagine hordes overrunning the White House, why couldn't Charlie Colson? Only a few brave souls, the White House seemed to think, had the courage to stand against the tide. The presidents of universities, television commentators, the editors of the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* —all portrayed the protesters sympathetically; were using "civil disobedience" and "disorder" as weapons to topple an Administration they did not like, as they had toppled Johnson.

Patrick Buchanan and others in the Administration hold the view that Richard Nixon is, again today, a loner, put upon by his historic enemies on the left, out to take from him by inflated moralistic outrage what they could not take from him at the ballot box.

And, on the other side, defenders of left-wing "civil disobedience" reject the equivalence between left-wing breaking-and-entering and right-wing breaking-and-entering. The prophets of the left, they say, performed their acts openly, went willingly to jail. (Sometimes they did, sometimes they didn't, and Liddy, too, went willingly and moralistically to jail.)

The right wing acted for money, they say, the left wing for morality. For its "sins," the left wing receives moral status and such publicity as is worth a great deal of money, actually. (One protester recently wrote in a fund-raising invitation that he received and gave away "from royalties" $4500 a month.) The ideological fervor of persons on both sides is strikingly similar.

The right wing, they say, possesses all the power of the federal government, while protesters of the left were powerless, had only their bodies to lay down on the line, were the weak and powerless against the huge resources of the State, and innocent because powerless.

Yet in an important way the government, too, feels powerless, in the face of public opinion and raucous protests and radical chic. Its secrets are leaked, its decisions second-guessed, its appeals for support undermined, its ability to present its case to the public subjected to prejudicial editing. Among "opinion-setters," the left has power, they say, the right does not.

Left and right do combat with whatever weapons each possesses. Ironically, each thinks the other's weapons terrifying. The right trembles in rage before the *Times*, the *Post*, NBC and CBS. The left, in awe of incumbency, is speechless in contempt for Nixon's *chutzpah*.

Who does hold power in America? Several powerful establishments in the United States habitually have their way, or at least exact their price. They operate within the rules by preference, in gray areas when required, and illegally when necessary. As Jimmy Breslin says, when certain scions of Wall Street decide that the Mafia is of no use to them they will put an end to it in weeks. Over the years, our elites have developed many gracious, tasteful, and morally pleasant ways of never knowing about illegalities perpetrated to protect their interests.

Americans pretend to an innocence about the ways of power they do not share. We know but do not want to know. We do not exercise power in the direct and symbolic Latin style, or in the officious German style (traces visible in Ehrlichman and Haldeman). We exercise it discreetly, indirectly, between friends, in synapsis and understatement, at a safe moral distance from its impact.

What, then, are the realities of power?

Anthony Lewis has criticized Theodore White for picturing the Establishment press and networks as "immensely powerful, courageous and eager to fight with Richard Nixon. Anyone," Lewis writes, "who has seen a newspaper hierarchy worry over whether to publish leaked national security information, or a network tremble at some White House sally, knows what fantasy that is." But perhaps men of real power know exactly what the stakes are. Perhaps they calculate closely how many ways there are to lose. It is not fantasy to believe that Richard Nixon, given time, could have destroyed the *New York Times* and the network news. Imagine a protracted printers' strike in New York; imagine accumulating local resistance to aspects of the network news.

Whether they "worry" and "trem-

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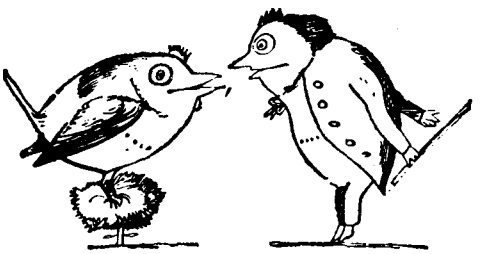
LICENSING THE GADFLIES?

DENNIS O'BRIEN



Tenure finds itself under attack

It could be argued that the first plea for tenure was Socrates' recommendation to the court of Athens that he be provided with maintenance in the Prytaneum. It was a counter-suggestion to the death penalty. This mocking request sealed his fate and ever since, professors, occasional prophets and itinerant sophists have evoked the shade of Socrates when battling with forces of parochialism and oppression. Rightly so. Rather than silencing the critics, society should provide them with the freedom to explore, to innovate and to challenge—notions which come easily to every commencement speaker called upon to describe the role of the university and its professional agents. From the time of the founding of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) in 1915, these ancient themes have been summed up in discussions about academic freedom and tenure. With the gradual acceptance by colleges of tenure (i.e., virtually unbreakable life contracts offered to professors after a period of probation), it would seem that the authorities had finally seen the wisdom of Socrates' notion of providing free meals for life to society's inner critics.

The lessons of Socrates are never free from irony, however. Consider the image of a Socrates successful in his plea, sitting with the Olympic heroes and charioteers (those normally granted maintenance at public expense), munching out his latter years as the licensed gadfly of Athens. There is something faintly comic about an authorized prophet. If Socrates on tenure seems odd, his qualifications would appear absolutely outlandish to the AAUP. Tenure is granted at American universities after a probationary period in which the fledgling academic is given an opportunity to demonstrate his learned skills. What would the tenure committee make of a man who claims status because a god told him that he alone was wise—wise in knowing his own ignorance?

Actually, in today's academic marketplace, there are many young assistant professors who must feel that a case for tenure from divine grace would be about as convincing as any string of demonstrated skills. Given the Ph.D. glut, there are too many with skill and there have never been enough people with grace. For a variety of economic reasons, the future for young people in academic life is particularly bleak. The problem is not the first appointment—first appointments are frequently made without a Ph.D. and are relatively inexpensive for the college. The problem is a second appointment. Having served a number of years in a first appointment, the young faculty member expects the additional salary which experience and developed skill should merit *and* tenure. According to the standards of the national AAUP, a faculty member must receive tenure after seven years of teaching at the college level (subject to some extension if he changes institutions). The administrator faces the prospect of a steady-state economy for his college at best; he projects no significant increase in the total size of the faculty and he is being asked to place a man barely in his thirties into contract extending to the 21st century. The temptation is to maintain flexibility and variety in the faculty and to economize by offering no tenure contracts, appointing always from the bottom.

It is not difficult to surmise that under current conditions tenure finds itself under attack. Union College, for

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instance, has announced that it will extend the seven-year tenure deadline. This permits the College to continue faculty beyond the current deadline and will undoubtedly cut down the number of unemployed assistant professors in Schenectady. The policy certainly avoids the agony of turning excellent people away from the profession and alters the long-term prospect of developing a two-class faculty, those aging senior officers on tenure at the top and the rapidly changing group of non-tenured enlisted men on the bottom. How Union will avoid locking up their current faculty and outstripping their budget remains to be seen. For now it seems a charitable but temporary stratagem.

While the impetus for a re-examination of tenure is certainly economic, the issues involved remain philosophical. If things get *very* much worse economically, even current AAUP regulations would give institutions an out. One can break a tenure contract when the department of appointment cannot be financially sustained. Central to every argument about tenure is the notion of academic freedom since it is this value above all that a tenure contract is meant to insure. Because tenure places the faculty member beyond the reach of small-minded administrators, politically motivated Regents and other academic demons, his freedom to research, criticize and expound is protected. Since the original AAUP statement of 1915, academic-freedom-and-tenure has virtually become a single concept so that to question tenure may appear an attack on freedom of inquiry. To be sure, defenders of tenure admit that it can protect the mediocre, that it is an extraordinary form of job security, but they argue that protection of academic freedom outweighs any negative aspects. If tenure is the sole and only possible means for protecting academic freedom, then tampering with it in any fashion to help provide greater flexibility in appointments would be a strategy of desperation.

Even the AAUP does not, however, seem to regard tenure as the sole and necessary means for guaranteeing academic freedom. In the 1940 Statement on Academic Freedom and Tenure (the one most frequently adopted by colleges and universities), the AAUP affirms that "during the probationary period a teacher should have the academic freedom that all other members of the faculty have." In fact, many colleges have elaborate quasi-judicial procedures to protect the academic freedom of non-tenured faculty. If these procedures have any effectiveness, why wouldn't they work for everyone so that freedom could be guaranteed without the various admitted disadvantages of tenure? If all faculty had direct contractual guarantees of academic freedom with an appropriate college judicial body to enforce the contract rights, would they be less protected in academic freedom than citizens who seek refuge in civil courts for violations of First Amendment rights of free speech?

If one imagined some such system of inner judicial protection along the lines of those already established for non-tenured junior members of the faculty, the immediate practical problem that arises is the separation of academic freedom arguments from professional competence arguments. The tenure committee may feel Professor K. Marx is incompetent and he may argue that his supposed incompetence is a function of the inability of the committee to see truly novel and revolutionary work. Was he dismissed because he was an incompetent Marxist economist or is Marxism just an incompetent economic system? Do you make tenure appointments to the most "competent" man in psychical research?

It is obvious that the discrimination required in these cases is not easily come by. Academic hagiography is filled with cases from Socrates to Galileo to Darwin in which revolutionary opinion was derided by the learned of the day. Difficult as the task of discrimination may be, however, it is made even more difficult by the fact that there actually are two rather different theories of academic freedom abroad in the market and this leads to considerable confusion about the exact meaning of academic freedom and the tenure status which is meant to protect it.

Two Theories

One can argue for academic freedom either on the basis of man's ignorance or on the basis of man's knowledge. Socrates offers a relatively pure case of the first. He argues for freedom to continue his task of challenging people in the *agora* because of the virtually inescapable darkness of the human mind. Only the gods are wise and man is wise only in recognizing his own ignorance. The dialogue is eternal because man can *never* seize the truth which lies beyond him in the eternal forms. Freedom of thought is a necssary means to prevent mere custom from hardening into a simulacrum of truth. Only by challenge, by the sting of the gadfly, can the slothful public beast be awakened from dreams.

To understand the import of the Socratic construction, consider what happens to free inquiry if one actually finds the truth. What if one knows the divine wisdom? Tertullian's conclusion follows: "Our Lord Jesus Christ described himself as truth not custom. . . . Apart, therefore, from the one immutable and irrefutable principle, the rule of faith, all other truths whatsoever of theory and practice admit of modification." For Tertullian the academic life was merely "the itch of idle speculation" because through revelation one knew the truth. The fact of revelation would have surprised Socrates, but he would have admitted the logic of Tertullian's position. If one finally gets to know the truth, then the means, academic freedom, is no longer necessary. One ceases the hunt when the bird is in the bag. Considering the fate of academic freedom in some sectarian settings, one can see the power (and threat) of Tertullian's view.

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What happens to tenure in the argument for academic freedom from ignorance? Socrates asks for it, but he obviously regards it as a kind of jest. Where modern rhetoric for academic freedom talks about the college as "the marketplace of ideas"—presumably the only place where academics honor free market economies—Socrates philosophized in the *actual* marketplace. Plato founded the first "college" as a gesture of disillusionment over the fate of his great teacher. The notion of a special grove removed from the actual marketplace where gadflies would be licensed to sting (who? one another?) might have seemed to Socrates no better than the exile which Crito offers him as a means of escaping the city. If one takes Socrates' practice seriously, one gathers what wisdom one can here and there: from tanners, poets and politicians. It is the sophists who think they are a special class of learned persons. In so far as tenure is based on *competence,* Socrates would make little sense of it in a world of the unwise. If tenure is to assure freedom to inquire, then it is everyman's right, not something specially granted to professors in their isolated academies. Lest anyone think that these are arguments which would only impress a fifth-century Greek, consider what happens to professorial tenure if the focus of higher education turns away from such obvious skill subjects as physics to psychical problems like "learning to live." Radical critiques of contemporary higher education often claim that the candlemakers and the potters have more to teach us in that art than the accredited Ph.D.

The tradition which is closer to the main theory of tenure is obviously one which bases academic freedom on knowledge, not ignorance. Tenure is granted for an attained skill; it is basically an entitlement of proficiency; one has the freedom to teach because of a truth attained, not simply the freedom to search because of a truth sought after. Tenure is a freedom-to-teach license analogous to the physician's license to practice medicine. Both entitlements, both licenses or freedoms are normally granted for life and once conveyed are very difficult to revoke.

In the Middle Ages, masters received a teaching license, the *ius ubique docendi,* which allowed them to practice their craft at any university. The reason that tenure is not seen in the manner of the *licentia docendi,* is partly because the economic situation of the modern college and the modern master is so different. Medieval schools and their masters were very poor, schools needed small equipment and masters even less. Thus, if a licensed master found himself at odds with the local situation he would pack up and take up practice elsewhere. Modern scholars require libraries, elaborate research equipment, and they can only get students in an accredited institution. If professors were as ubiquitous and as salable as other professionals, the problem of tenure as we know it would scarcely exist. Denied a university position, the professor would set up on the street corner as the lawyer who missed out on a Wall Street partnership retires to private practice. Unfortunately the professor can only get clients and truly exercise his skill with a college appointment. The denial of appointment is a *de facto* revocation of his license. Thus, in order to effectively license a professor to practice, one is tempted to invent something like tenure.

For purposes of clarity I have treated the two theories of academic freedom in a highly simplified manner. Actually, they crisscross and interweave in many confusing, contradictory and complementary ways. The general AAUP position on academic freedom and tenure is a particular blend of the two strands. While the statement has many strengths, the mixing of the two theories leads to what I consider to be a major defect in the AAUP position. The AAUP believes that professors should be granted tenure and a guaranteed academic freedom on the basis of a demonstrated skill in a discipline. As the notion developed historically in the founding days of AAUP, the background model of competence and discipline was natural science. Natural science as the archetype of professional skill offers a different model from the moral and theological models which defined the background of other earlier university traditions.

In the Middle Ages one got a *license* to teach because it was assumed that one had to know something of the truth in order to go about instructing people. A doctor has to show his knowledge of medicine before he can treat patients. The reason one can make an analogy between the medieval schoolmaster and the physician is that, whatever the imperfect states of the sciences in question, a funded knowledge is assumed which *must* be followed in professing to the young or curing the sick. Modern science is oriented to a truth yet to come after the long research project of human striving; medieval universities felt that the Truth had already been revealed, however shadowy the form, and one could not permit theological quackery. Because the background image of the modern academic is that of a researcher proficient in natural science, the thrust of academic freedom is toward the freedom to continue inquiry for the good of a discipline which yearns toward its validated future. What the research image lacks is a theory of client responsibility, specifically, what about the student? It is easy to see why the lack exists. If one actually *has* knowledge then there is a kind of moral commitment to share it with others in an effective manner. The doctor knowing how to cure, should cure. On the other hand, if one puts knowledge off into the future, then responsibility shifts to the development of the discipline, and students are defined not as beneficiaries of accumulated knowledge, but proto-researchers doing their bit for the discipline.

Whether my suggestion about the reason for a lack of

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discussion about client responsibility is correct or not, the fact is that AAUP statements regarding tenure and the grounds for granting and breaking it are all couched in terms which make sense primarily in a research-oriented world of natural science and there is no substantive language about responsibility to clients. This is in sharp contrast to other professions like doctors or lawyers where client responsibility is explicitly discussed in elaborate ethical codes. Perhaps because I have been working in a college setting I am particularly struck with the fact that the AAUP theory of the profession is primarily a theory for *University* professors, for graduate teaching where the research orientation is clearest. When the original AAUP statement on academic freedom in 1914 was being drawn up there was considerable discussion about whether it should apply equally to colleges and universities, to teachers of the "immature as well as advanced students." That distinction is now completely lost and by and large it is a good thing. College teachers should have freedom to speak out along with the research-oriented graduate professors. However, there is a heavier client responsibility in college teaching, and in a college setting it is difficult to justify maintaining a tenure contract on the basis of sheer discipline-oriented competence alone when the interest or ability to teach has decayed. If a doctor loses interest in treating patients he might become a researcher and gently be led away from contact with clients. The major *student* complaint about tenure is at the college level where tenure decisions which have gone sour effectively block the student from receiving a service he needs. I do not want to suggest that all college teachers must be Chrysostomos *redivivus* and that they will be sacked at the first sign of flagging zeal, but in dealing with college-age students there should be some more reasonable way of servicing their need to be taught.

A discussion of the theory of tenure is not likely to change the current bleak picture for younger members of the profession. Personally, I believe that tenure is not the sole means for guarding academic freedom, and it seems in the present economy of scarcity something of an offense against simple justice. If justice is treating people differently on the basis of differences, then the current situation is at least an objective injustice even if no one intends any malice. No doubt senior professors should have larger income and greater job security than younger members of the faculty, but the difference between tenured and non-tenured is likely to prove the difference between a lifetime in the profession and possibly no appointment at all. The difference in status is not commensurate with differences in skill and accomplishment.

Of course, it is argued that *de facto* tenure cannot be avoided—no one will ever fire a man after fifteen years at the faculty club. (This point is usually made by those who favor tenure and who insist that were it not for tenure every faculty member would be threatened with dismissal by a nervous administration.) *De facto* job security is one thing, *de jure* arrangements which contract injustice into the system are something else. Doing away with tenure will not solve the economic predicament which has raised the question so sharply, but it might ease some consciences and allow a minimal flexibility in appointment strategy. The basic problem is still Socrates'; how do you persuade the society that funds are better spent on philosophers than Olympic racers?

ECLIPSE OF RADICAL POLITICS

ROBERT L. TERRELL

Berkeley's radicals are in disarray—fragmented, confused, dispirited

During the past half-decade Berkeley, California, has generally been considered the capital of radical politics in the United States, the place where brilliant concepts and infectious movements begin. In an attempt to describe the essence of Berkeley's importance to the nation's radicals, Tom Hayden once called the city "liberated territory." Things are changing, however, and recent developments indicate that the high tide of radical influence in Berkeley has come and gone. The most dramatic evidence of this is the recent recall of D'Army Bailey, one of three radicals elected to the city council in the Spring of 1971.

The recall election, which was held on August 21, has to be interpreted as a decisive setback for the city's radicals. When votes were tallied from the city's 189 precincts, there were 18,569 in favor of the recall and 11,548 against it. Although less than forty percent of the 75,594 registered voters showed up at the polls, the margin of defeat for Bailey and the radicals with whom he is ostensibly aligned was almost two to one.

Bailey, who is an ardent Black Nationalist, has been

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replaced by William B. Rumford Jr., a black, on leave from his post as assistant chief of security for the Bay Area Rapid Transit System. Rumford is a former policeman and agent in the narcotics division of the Treasury Department. He calls himself a "liberal," and claims that he was elected because he projects an image and philosophy at the "forefront of community will."

Berkeley's Vice Mayor Wilmont Sweeney was one of the key organizers of the recall. Sweeney, who is also black, is quite confident that the conservative-liberal coalition which he heads is on the verge of eliminating all substantive radical input in the city's affairs. When asked after the recall what will happen to Ira Simmons, elected along with Bailey and radical councilwoman Loni Hancock in 1971, and considered to be strongly influenced by Bailey, Sweeney replied, "Simmons might be a pretty decent guy without Bailey, but he's all done here; he'll serve out his term and that's all."

The city's radicals have not thrown in the towel. They are quick to point out the fact that 25 percent of those eligible to vote in the recall election were out of town (students on vacation). The fact remains, however, that Bailey failed to receive substantive support from those areas where it was expected. Bailey predicted that he would receive from 70 to 80 percent of the black vote and as much as 90 percent of the votes cast in the campus precincts. He was overly optimistic. He only got 45 percent of the black vote and his campus precinct victories were "pyrrhic." Although he received from 53 to 90 percent of all votes cast in the campus precincts, he actually lost four of them. More important, the voter turnout in those precincts was paltry, in the ten to 25 percent category in most cases. In one campus precinct with 500 registered voters, only seven votes were cast. Explanations based on student vacation schedules cannot account for such dramatic apathy.

It is true, as many radicals have pointed out, that Bailey did not have a particularly good rapport with the city's radical community. He is an individualist in a community devoted to collective politics. He was secretive about his financial backing even though he was repeatedly urged to divulge its source. Most important, Bailey is a hardlining Black Nationalist during a time when most radicals are attempting to de-emphasize the conflicts inherent in race politics. For these reasons, many Berkeley radicals refused to endorse or actively support Bailey's campaign to keep his seat on the council. This was true even though they opposed the recall and those who engineered it.

But Bailey's ouster was not an isolated event. It cannot be separated from the overall direction of Berkeley's political momentum. Berkeley's radicals have presented voters with clear choices in two other elections this year and the outcome in both cases was almost identical. In a special January election radicals ran four candidates for the Rent Control Board. The entire slate was defeated by a group of "liberals" supported by the same group which engineered the Rumford victory. Although stunned by this totally unexpected setback, the radicals concluded that victory would have been theirs if they had worked harder. They vowed not to commit the same mistake a second time.

Back to the Drawing Board

They began preparing for the Spring election long beforehand. Organized in a loose confederacy called the April Coalition, they were determined to take over the city council. The council has nine seats and the radicals already controlled three. They only had to win two in order to enjoy a clear majority. Because of the rent-control setback, they were not absolutely certain of success, but they were confident. After a series of planning meetings, which were frequently disrupted by political arguments, four candidates were selected to carry the platform of the April Coalition to Berkeley's voters.

As election day drew nearer, it became apparent that the radical candidates faced stiff opposition. The conservative-liberal coalition which drubbed them in the rent control election was also running four candidates. And as time passed, the opposition slate, which was known as "The Berkeley Four," began to attract favorable public attention.

The Berkeley Four were not of primary concern, however. The most important problems facing the radicals were being generated by disagreements between two factions within the April Coalition, the "pragmatists" and the "ideologues." The pragmatists, composed of radicals who have been working in the city from six to nine years, wanted to stress local issues. The ideologues, composed of militant hardliners, were convinced that a "clear left" perspective was absolutely necessary. Although a compromise was worked out, the campaign never really recovered from the weaknesses engendered by the fight between these two factions.

Rallies held at famed Sproul Plaza on the University of California campus drew sizable crowds, but something was missing. Those in attendance clapped and cheered at the appropriate times, but with no great enthusiasm. That certain sense of excitement which tends to denote "winners" was absent. Try as they might, the radicals were never quite able to get their beleaguered campaign off the ground. When the election results were in, only one of their four candidates, an Asian woman named Ying Lee Kelly was elected.

Something has gone wrong. Things are not developing according to the script. The heady confidence which prevailed after the dramatic victory of 1971 is ebbing. Berkeley's radicals are in disarray; fragmented, confused and dispirited. It is too soon to provide a definitive explanation of the reasons why, but certain developments

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are at least partially responsible. One of the most important ones is the conclusion of the war in Southeast Asia.

The war was a common rallying point for the city's radicals. They all opposed it and while it dragged on they found it easy to present simplistic "we" versus "they" positions. This no longer works. Since the war's end, the city's radicals have found it much harder to distinguish themselves from their opponents.

The feminist movement has also contributed to the decline of radical coherence in Berkeley. Although few admit it, radical males and females are experiencing extreme difficulty in working together. On those occasions when they do manage to join in common cause, their efforts are frequently hampered by tension and uncertainty. D'Army Bailey, Ira Simmons and Loni Hancock, for example, were divided almost from the very beginning on the question of women's rights. Bailey and Simmons believe that the problems of minorities are more important than those of women and Hancock disagrees. Many Berkeley radicals remain divided along the lines of this crucial disagreement.

Another factor contributing to the decline of radical political influence in Berkeley is the large number of local activists who are turning away from politics and embracing groups and movements devoted to higher forms of consciousness. Convinced that the problems of society cannot be solved by political means, many Berkeley radicals are turning inward. The city's bookstores vividly reflect this change. Their shelves are being stocked, slowly but surely, with volumes devoted to the alteration of consciousness. Transcendental Meditation, Zen, Yoga, Astrology, and interestingly enough, Magic, are especially popular.

The next couple of years should prove interesting. There are numerous currents swirling through Berkeley, many of them strange and exotic. It will probably take a year or two for some one of them to become dominant. When that happens, Berkeley's citizens will probably be off on another avant-garde adventure.

THE AMERICAN DREAM

THE SCREEN

American Grafitti is a midsummer night's dream of life in the fifties, a balmy reprise of hot rods, drive-ins, sock hops and cruising. It all takes place one evening on the cusp of the Kennedy era. After gathering at dusk at Mel's Drive-In, a clique of teenagers take to their cars to cruise the night away until dawn. Like Shakespeare's star-crossed dreamers, each of these kids also ends up mismatched in love. For instance, Laurie (Cindy Williams), the leader of the cheerleaders in last June's graduating class, has a fight with boyfriend Steve (Ronny Howard), the class president. For spite she then allows herself to be picked up by some out-of-town stud in a chopped and channeled Chevvy.

John (Paul Le Mat), the local drag champion, doesn't fare so well either. He rolls along beside a car full of girls to invite them into his car at the next stop light. But the only one to accept is Carol (MacKenzie Phillips), a pre-teen fiend with a pony tail and braces. The ecological balance isn't seriously disturbed, however, for while John may underscore, "Toad" (Charlie Martin Smith), the geek in the group, overscores like crazy. Since Steve is off to college tomorrow, he loans Toad his car until Christmas, and first night out with it Toad picks up Debbie (Candy Clark), a Sandra Dee look-alike who gets Toad drunk and tries to rape him. Obviously the order of nature would have been better observed if Debbie had hopped in with John and Carol with Toad.

Since all socializing happens on the street, everyone in this California suburb has wheels. Even the car-hops at Mel's are on roller skates. The only person who is just along for the ride is Laurie's brother Curt (Richard Dreyfuss). Like Steve, Curt is supposed to leave for college tomorrow, but unlike Steve, or anyone else in this society, Curt has his doubts. Curt therefore spends the whole night in back seats in a quandary, leaving the driving to others. For him there is no midsummer night's dream, but a dark night of the soul during which he descends into the nether world before being born anew at dawn.

More specifically, Curt is abducted by a gang of delinquents called The Pharohs and taken joy riding. The test they put Curt to is anchoring the rear axle of a cop car to the ground while the cops themselves are inside. Curt passes this *rite de passage*, this trial by demon fire, and is taken up into heaven at daybreak. He decides he will go to college after all, so like Endymion mounting up from the sea floor into the firmament, or like Shakespeare's Puck, who circumnavigates the globe playing pranks, Curt boards his plane the next morning to go east. It has always been apparent that Curt is different from the rest of his crowd. Though he may not have cruised last night as they did, it now turns out he can do something greater: he can fly.

On the other hand, this is America in the 1950s we're talking about, and no one was *that* different from everybody else. Perhaps Curt's experiences don't really depart so much from Laurie's, John's and Toad's after all. Each of them picked up a wrong number while cruising, and The Pharohs might just be thought of as the losers that Curt got stuck with. They were his heavy date. Besides, Curt has his midsummer night's dream in a way too. While en route to a hop with Laurie and Steve early in the evening, Curt imagines that a gorgeous blonde in a

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T-Bird stopped next to him mouths, "I love you" through her rolled-up window.

When the light changes, the car disappears around a corner, and all night Curt keeps spotting it again at a distance. Try as he might, he can never catch up with this woman; but while his plane is gaining altitude next morning, he sees her phantom T-Bird once more racing along the highway below, headed east like him. If Curt's fantasies differ from the other kids', then, they differ only in degree, not kind. During the night Steve has had his puerile fantasies about Laurie too, and been equally unsuccessful in realizing them. The only thing to be said for Curt is that the woman of his dreams is, unlike his sharp-tongued sister Laurie, at least a little mysterious and unapproachable.

There is of course much irony in treating the fifties as festive comedy, for I should think that most people who were growing up then look back on the times as more of a nightmare. *American Grafitti*'s director, George Lucas, is aware of this, and he does render his midsummer night's dream with a certain nightmarish quality. This is especially noticeable in the way he has lit his film. Since most scenes occur in parking lots or on city streets, Lucas plays up that harsh, ugly blue cast given by carbon-arc and fluorescent lighting. Even when his characters escape indoors or into some moonlight, Lucas doesn't allow them to escape such lighting effects. The moon is also blue in this film; and when Steve and Laurie are asked to do a solo dance at the hop, in recognition of their former BMOC status, the key light that falls on them has a garish blue filter as well.

But if *American Grafitti* is a nightmare, it is a very comfortable one, and Lucas is poking fun at our tendency to think the fifties a nightmare as much as he is poking fun at the fifties themselves. Though I don't know Lucas' age, I assume that his own memories of growing up in the fifties have complicated for him the process of making this film. The performers he has cast in the roles of Curt and Laurie make curiously old-looking teenagers. (Dreyfuss is in fact twenty-five.) It is as if people who are the age that Laurie and Curt would be now were trying to go back and re-enact—or perhaps recapture—their youth. It is a casting job that seems to suggest a struggle going on within Lucas himself.

What Lucas is ultimately kidding us about is that need to remember the fifties as a nightmare. Because it seems so obvious to us now that the fifties were an era of insensibility, we believe we must have been desperately unhappy then. If we were unhappy during the fifties, it proves we knew all along what a rotten time it was. To remember the time as a nightmare is thus reassuring. It means we were too great for the age. Since Lucas knows that our memory has played this little self-congratulating trick on us, he has made his nightmare a rather enchanted one. To have made a bitter and alienated film would have been, he realizes, the sheerest indulgence in nostalgia.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

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SUSAN FROMBERG SCHAEFFER

MAY DAY: TWO VIEWS

I

May. A grey day.
Grey threads of rain,
Diagonal,
Stitch the sky to the street.

Monday. The streets filling
With deliveries,
Sides of beef, cartons, milk.

A grey day.
Even the truck snouts fade.
Half-asleep

People cross at the corners.
This is not normal at all.
The trees

Forget they are green.

II

I crawl in from the rain
A grey photograph
Half-developed

Still wet
From the tray.

I am surprised
To find you here in full color.

Do you know who I am,
This daguerreotype?

I can't say that I do.

I am surprised at your mirrors
Restoring my face to full colors

Like a good photography shop.
How modern I look!

How did you do it?
This is a good place.

Did I forget to tell you
I am moving in?

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BLACKS ON CAMPUS: IQ's & UNCLE TOMS

Toward Freedom and Dignity

O. B. HARDISON, JR.

Johns Hopkins, $8.50

The Education of Black Folk

ALLEN B. BALLARD

Harper & Row, $6.95

Uncle Tom's Campus

ANN JONES

Praeger, $6.95

CHARLES V. HAMILTON

These three books address critical problems of higher education today after almost a decade of trauma on the nation's campuses. As could be expected, all three focus on rather blatant weaknesses in the colleges: race, curriculum, leadership. Hardison worries about the place humanities occupies today in the curriculum. Over the last decade, he observes there has been a rather dangerous trend summed up in the following:

> Recent national and international events are as far beyond the control of the academy as the growth of knowledge. Yet these events also generate pressures that affect the curriculum. Most obviously, the pressure of events resulted, after Sputnik and the urban riots, in lavish financing of the sciences and social sciences. Administrators who paid lip service to the value of the humanities paid hard cash to attract faculty members whose work fell "within the national interest," to quote the magic phrase. (p. 11)

The watch-phrase became "action-oriented," and this disturbs Hardison. He is also disturbed by the seemingly chaotic development of courses in response to every jerk and twist in the society. He is critical of the way curricula offerings have tended to multiply, especially in the humanities. "Lobbying for special interests goes on in the academy as everywhere else, but the real problem is that decisions about individual courses are made individually, one by one." (p. 36)

We have tended recently to give preference to economic rather than human values. "The curriculum should be a program not a collection of courses, and the program should express a thoughtful, well articulated educational philosophy." (p. 155). He prefers smaller class sizes, with greater emphasis on assimilating ideas than on cramming for a temporary

(Continued on page 16)

Genetics & Education

ARTHUR R. JENSEN

Harper & Row, $10

The Fallacy of I.Q.

CARL SENNA (ed.)

The Third Press, $7.95

THOMAS FRASER PETTIGREW

It can almost be stated as a social psychology law: *Historical periods of intergroup threat and tension occasion a rise in charges of innate intellectual inferiority against economically deprived groups.*

This phenomenon is neither limited to the United States nor to black peoples. The English often look down upon the Scots, Northern Italians upon Southern Italians, European Israelis upon Oriental Israelis. In America three generations ago, immigrant groups endured strident allegations of inherited inferiority even from the halls of Congress. Indeed, as Leon Kamin points out, the first group use of I.Q. tests in this country was applied in 1912 to Ellis Island arrivals. Confidently, the psychologist, Henry Goddard, reported that 83% of the Jews, 80% of the Hungarians, 79% of Italians, and 87% of Russians were "feebleminded." Such "scientific data" were later employed in support of the 1924 act that restricted immigration both by numbers and by national origin quotas. But ever since Count Arthur de Gobineau published his *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* over a century ago in support of European colonialism, blacks have been the special focus of claims of hereditary racial inferiority. Seen in the context of this long history, the two volumes under review are involved with the latest revival of inferiority allegations. The first by Jensen includes material that initiated this revival. The second edited by Senna is a collection of replies that critically respond to Jensen and his ilk.

Genetics and Education is the first of a promised trilogy of books by Arthur Jensen, an educational psychologist at the University of California at Berkeley, in his crusade to reopen the Gobineau thesis as a "scientific" issue. It consists of the reprinting of six of the author's earlier articles on genetics and intelligence together with two extensive bibliographies and a new 68-page preface that defensively relates his experiences since his rise to national notoriety. Considerable repetition occurs—even four identical figures. One-third of the book produces with subtle changes Jensen's 1969

(Continued on page 19)

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Okay, now where?

Which way? Is there a way? Do you plan to see the world? To change it? To conquer it? To find a place in it? Somehow to understand why it goes the way it does? There is no telling where your personal search will end, but a good school is a happy beginning. An atmosphere of freedom, a spirit of free inquiry, of new ideas among fresh outlooks and open minds. There is a way.

Duquesne

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Hamilton (Cont.)

recitation of facts. He is concerned that the society's preoccupation with economic and technological "things" has blinded it to a basic concern for human beings.

> Moon rockets have been more important than malnutrition; balance sheets have been more important than slums; national prestige has been more important than human life; status symbols have been more important than brotherhood. To say that in the future we will have to begin giving people priority over things and economic forces is simply to say that a viable future society will have to be humanistically rather than technologically oriented. As Boeing Aircraft discovered, the fact that we *can* build an SST does not mean that we *must* build it. (p. 125)

CANTERBURY SCHOOL

. . . A Catholic Secondary Boarding School
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This is a thoughtful book, albeit, one which to *some* people might be obvious and too filled with clichés. Some readers might not be overly convinced by the particular pedagogical method Hardison prefers, but the general direction and emphasis of his criticisms are quite sound. He argues well for the need to examine not only *what* we teach and *how*, but equally important, *why*.

Ballard's book, obvious by its title, adds the critical factor "who" we teach. His major thesis is that Black Americans, especially, have been miseducated by a system run by highly insensitive educators. He reviews the upsurge of Black student interest on the campuses in the late 1960's, and calls the reader's attention to the overall context in which those explosions took place.

> Indeed, the entire college tradition of the forties and fifties, that time to which most educators look back with wistfulness, was one of silence and acquiescence in the status quo. The colleges were not, as their spokesmen would have one believe, the conscience of America. They *were* America. They were colleges whose professors lauded Justice Felix Frankfurter as an outstanding example of the American intellectual and quietly explained away this man's bending of the Constitution so as to justify the mass incarceration of Japanese Americans during the war. (p. 29)

Ballard advocates the development of Black Studies programs based on sound empirical studies, staffed by sensitive Blacks. He proposes serious thought to the establishment of a network of urban colleges which would relate to the problems faced by millions of exploited peoples in the dying inner cities. He fills his book with hard analyses based on his studies and his first hand experience as a Black administrator in higher education in New York City. He takes to task the traditional defenders of academia, saying, in effect, that they have failed to adapt to rapidly changing times.

Ballard has written a very good and provocative book. He is balanced in his analysis of some Black Studies programs, as well he must be:

> At this point, there can be and should be many conclusions drawn as to the viability of Black studies as an academic discipline. From the outset there has been an unsteady and faltering growth of the programs resulting from a combination of factors: overt and covert white academic resistance to the programs; Black students' demands for instant departments; the absence of a sufficient number of Black scholars to staff dozens of departments; struggles within the programs among faculty and students as to the definition of Black studies; and excessive and erratic Black student control over Black faculty. (p. 108) In many cases the results were a potpourri of offerings without a central theme. (p. 110)

He is opposed to the tendency to channel Black students into two-year colleges; emphasis must be placed on getting them into and through four-year institutions, with all the supportive academic programs required. And he spells out in several chapters what kinds of academic innovations he has in mind: compensatory programs; close and intensive counseling, strict class attendance, careful attention to the campus environment—culturally and intellectually, etc.

Ballard also believes that the predominantly Black colleges in the South must be preserved and strengthened. "We must always be sure to 'hold on to what we've got.' What Black people do have is a network of Black colleges in the South, public and private, that are in danger of extinction by integration." (p. 152). The elimination of these schools, he feels, would be "disastrous." He notes, early in the book, the context in which these schools were founded in the 19th century. He concedes that many of them were "little more than high schools, and that the general level of education for Blacks . . . was of low calibre." (p. 13) But he is careful to point out the great function

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these schools served:

> Black colleges provided a higher educational base, no matter how limited, for the development of a Black bourgeoisie, and the formation of a nascent middle class was crucial in creating the present Black assertiveness. For the Black middle class, thwarted on every side by segregation and deprived of the possibility of movement outside of the caste, was forced to take a relatively radical stance that linked their fate to that of the oppressed Black masses. A consciousness of the unity of Black people was implanted in Black middle-class students by even the most innocuous of curricula.
>
> The Black colleges, moreover, served as a refuge and haven for Black professors intent on the development of Black scholarship. (p. 23)
>
> . . . By Harvard standards, of course, the Black colleges were inferior institutions. But one can only be astounded at the fact that trained sociologists cannot look beyond the surface to the vital function that was performed and is presently being performed by those colleges. For generations, no other colleges admitted Black students. And many of these graduates became the leaders of their people. (p. 24)

Jones' book deals with one of those Southern Black colleges, but it remains unidentified, except by the fictional title of Thomas College. The author, who is white, taught at the school for one year, and it was an academic year of frustration, futility and failure. She describes the book in the following way: "Although this account depicts a black college, its main concern is not race, but the dynamics of oppression as they occur in a particular institution. I do not mean to suggest that Thomas College is typical of black institutions, for among black colleges and universities, as among their white counterparts, there are the sound and the unsound, the excellent and the inferior . . . The fact that this account concerns a black

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college adds complexity to the general problem, for here is not just another case of educationist bureaucrats oppressing students but a case of black educators unwittingly oppressing black students at the service of a white society." (p. 18). Jones is not in favor of closing black colleges, because she agrees with the propositon that "the all-black college may be the answer to the persistent problem of black identity." She states: "I am in sympathy with this position. Indeed, if I were a black student I would choose to attend a black college for precisely this reason." (p. 223). In the last paragraph of her book, she writes: "In short, if I were a black student, I would go to a black college; but I would not go to Thomas. Nor could I remain a teacher at Thomas, viewing it as I did as a school for servility." (p. 224)

Throughout the book, she describes the inept administrative procedures, the incredibly low teaching abilities and standards, the iron-clad control over the minds and movements of the students. She states:

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> Committees at Thomas are an effective administrative tool, not for any of the reasons one might suppose, but simply because they produce the illusion of democratic process. At Thomas, all the standing committees were created by the president; he appointed all the members and named the chairman. Thus, each committee could be effectively weighted in favor of the old guard; the results of any votes the committees might cast were clear from the moment their composition was announced in a presidential memo. (p. 93)

Jones described some of the most glaring inadequacies of the college in terms of counseling.

> . . . One of my freshman students declared that he was majoring in veterinary science, and when I told him that the college did not offer that course of study, he explained that veterinary science was the "same as science." After four years as a science major, he honestly expected to graduate as a full-fledged veterinarian. That is what his adviser had told him. . . . Many students talked of their majors in pre-med, engineering, or computer science—none of which the college offered. Many spoke of being doctors or lawyers when they graduated, not knowing that they had to attend a professional school to earn an additional degree. (pp. 165-166)

Long accounts are given of frustrating attempts to revise the curriculum—attempts usually sabotaged by the President, the Dean or older faculty. This is, indeed, a disturbing account. But, unfortunately, the book itself is more disturbing than the college it attempts to expose. Anyone who has read Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* and remembered the account of Dr. Bledsoe is aware of the possible treachery of a black college president. So Jones' portrayal of Greeson (Thomas' president) provided nothing new or startling. But *Uncle Tom's Campus* is *not* fiction, according to the author. She has taken no writer's liberties: "the incidents and people described in this book are drawn from life, with identifying features changed to protect individuals, who are more sinned against than sinning." But, the author must have known, her protestations to the contrary notwithstanding, that this account would be seen as a broad condemnation of black colleges generally. In presenting the material the way she has, she has succeeded in reaching no further heights than petty faculty gossip; she has offered absolutely no way to *begin* to deal with the problems she outlines. This is not true with the Hardison and Ballard books. Jones has sought but failed to achieve the best of both worlds of fiction and non-fiction, and this is precisely what this most important subject of the quality of black higher education does not need. She wields a broad stroke—and from time to time indicates that she does not mean all black colleges or even only black colleges. This is naive at best, dysfunctional certainly. Some of the incidents she describes (for example, the Thomas College student working in the gas station *two blocks* from the campus who could not direct her to the campus!) border on the absurd. That's probably her point, but in making it, she indicates more than she *says* she wants to.

Jones has *not* dealt with this subject in a *respectful* manner. I do not mean the participants — the administrators, teachers, students — but, rather, the topic of black higher education. One not only learns far more constructive ways to deal with the problems from Ballard's book, but one can actually come away from Jones' book as frustrated as she was when she left Thomas College at the end of one year. But some people do not have the option to "leave." And therein lies the serious criticism of Jones' book.

Hardison and Ballard would undoubtedly share many of the concerns Jones has. But they have understood the responsible role of constructive critic, and the reader gains from their works. Jones' book, however, is in the nature of a most unscholarly presentation of a serious academic problem—

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and this is ironic, inasmuch as she condemns Thomas for its low academic standards. She has obviously written the book she wanted to write. But one dealing in a thorough manner with curriculum revision ideas for that type of school (which would have been a good complement to the Hardison book) would have been infinitely better. Otherwise, Jones comes off as a self-righteous young Ph.D. down from the North, who was frustrated at every turn in her efforts to help those poor little black folk. Who needs it? Or better still—good riddance.

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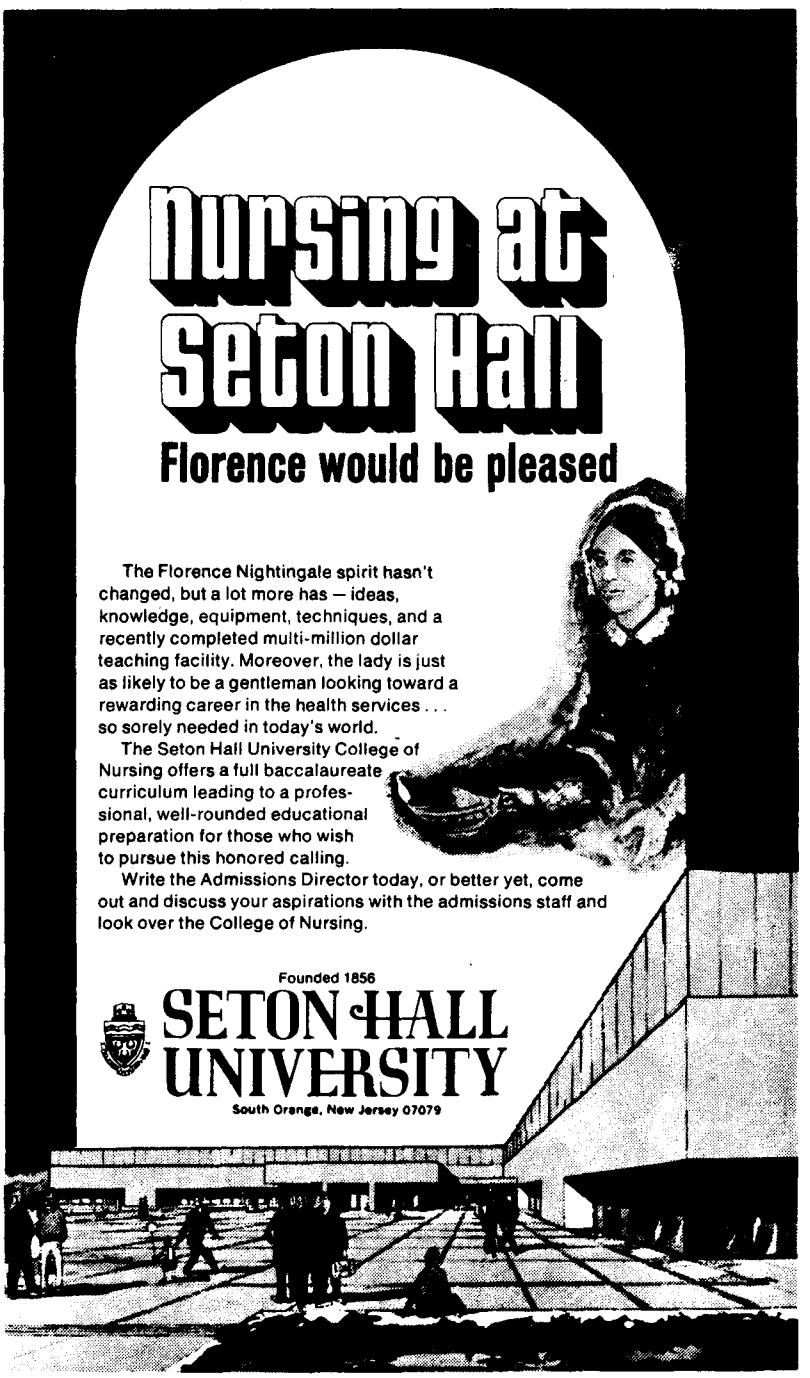
Pettigrew (Cont.)

article in the *Harvard Educational Review* that received intense media attention. And 14 new footnotes are included that respond in part to the sweeping scientific criticism of his work.

The new portion, then, is the extensive preface. In it, he firmly insists that he is simply a scientist and that virtually all attacks upon his work are violations of his academic freedom. Though Jensen repeatedly draws policy conclusions, he objects particularly to political criticism. He takes sharp exception to having his argument characterized as "racist," since he claims to support equal rights for everyone. But dictionary definitions of "racism" specify that it refers to the belief of innate racial superiority of one's own group; and Jensen's argument fits snugly under such a definition.

To be sure, Jensen has been subjected to irrational, unconscionable, and often threatening abuse as well as legitimate criticism. But, unfortunately, he rarely discriminates between the two. Indeed, he frequently attacks his critics with precisely the types of distortion and *ad hominem* arguments that he rightly objects to from others. Jensen lists his supporters by title and honors, his detractors usually only by name. (In the reviewer's case, my name as well as my contentions are rendered incorrectly.) He appears to believe, as with Galileo, that the furore raised by his writings is the definitive proof of the validity of his thesis. He is clearly convinced that he is "objective" and his critics politically motivated.

Senna's little volume reprints seven papers that respond to various parts of the newest wave of Gobineauism. Written by a range of specialists from biologists to astronomers, these articles are varied in both content and quality and are not related systematically to each other. Two pieces, by Richard Lewontin and Christopher Jencks, are among the more interesting available. Senna, however, unaccountably omits other leading articles, such as Jerry Hirsch's 1970 critique in *Seminars in Psychiatry* and Sandra Scarr-Salapetek's two articles in the December 1971 issues of *Science*. Nor could he have included two important recent assessments: Jencks' overlooked Appendix A on estimating the heritability of I.Q. scores in the publicized book, *Inequality;* and Leon Kamin's work described in the April 1973 issue of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South Today. In short, Senna's compilation offers the interested reader only a limited entry into the literature that explains why so few scientists take Jensen's work seriously.

There is not space to summarize adequately the various lines of damaging criticism. But let me touch upon several in the hope of stimulating the reader to explore these materials. Lewontin, for example, emphasizes Jensen's confusion of "heritability of a character within a population with heritability of the difference between two populations. Indeed, between two populations, the concept of heritability of their difference is meaningless." (p. 13) Jensen provides an inadequate response to this point in a new footnote. (p. 162)

Senna and others focus upon the inadequacy of the concept and measurement of the I.Q. itself. "I.Q. reflects," argues Senna, "rather than predicts a person's preparation for academic work." (p. xiv)

In work not included in Senna's volume, Hirsch shows the fragile and variable quality of the concept of heritability, key to Jensen's arguments. Hirsch also maintains that Jensen's casual dismissal of the massive degree of interaction between genes and the environment is made possible by his exploitation of a statistical artifact. Jencks, in *Inequality*, points out that Jensen inflates his heritability estimates by including that which is explained by the fact that genotypically bright children are typically raised in superior environments.

Most damaging, perhaps, is Kamin's demonstration that the research on twins relied heavily upon by Jensen is probably fundamentally wrong. Kamin especially questions the work of the late Sir Cyril Burt. Jensen's new book cites 12 works of Burt on 22 pages, more than any author other than himself.

Readers less interested in technical criticisms may find Lewontin's final argument more persuasive: ". . . the real issue is what the goals of our society will be. Do we want to foster a society in which the 'race of life' is 'to get ahead of somebody' and in which 'true merit,' be it genetically or environmentally determined, will be the criterion of men's earthly reward? Or do we want a society in which every man can aspire to the fullest measure of psychic and material fulfillment that social activity can produce? Professor Jensen has made it fairly clear to me what sort of society he wants. I oppose him." (p. 17)

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REVIEWERS

CHARLES V. HAMILTON teaches urban politics at Columbia University's School of International Affairs.

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FATHER GREGORY BAUM, O.S.A., is the author of *Man Becoming* and *Faith and Doctrine.*

Pragmatism and the American Mind

MORTON WHITE

Oxford U. Press, $8.95

JOHN DONNELLY

This collection of essays is written with the express purpose of demonstrating how conceptual analysis can contribute "to the resolution, or at least the clarification, of some important problems concerning the central institutions and disciplines of civilization . . ." I, for one, have no doubt that analytic philosophy can make such a contribution, but I question whether White has proven his point.

White's academic specialty is classical American philosophy, and his proven ability at conceptual analysis greatly bolsters his many sojourns on this somewhat uncharted, epistemological course. The majority of current (American) philosophers have at least benignly neglected American philosophy in the classical tradition of Emerson, Thoreau, Royce, James, Dewey, etc., consigning such study instead to departments of literature, history, etc. Indeed, it is a curious sociological fact that while many so-called 'Catholic' institutions of higher learning seem to be of the opinion that American philosophy culminated in the 'golden age' of James, Peirce and Dewey, most Philosophy Departments at secular institutions seem to trace the historical developments of American philosophy *from* the post-golden period, as represented by such transitional figures as Lewis, Ducasse and Quine. Accordingly, it is surely to White's credit that he attempts to effect a rapprochement between these two divergent trends in American intellectual history.

An especially interesting motif traced by White is that of anti-urbanism in

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classical American thought, as evidenced by the agrarian inclinations of Jefferson, the transcendentally motivated Emerson and Thoreau, to the quixotic provincialism of Royce, and culminating in the parochial urbanism of Dewey. White also insightfully comments upon another negative feature in American thought—the anti-intellectualism perhaps best exemplified in the colonial metaphysics of transcendentalism that emphasizes the heart's grasp of truth independent of and often in conflict with those traditional pillars of logical empiricism: observation and reason.

Despite his disclaimers of any cultist advocacy, White praises the later Wittgenstein for recognizing the complexities of language as a cultural instrument. Writing as a pragmatic, methodological nominalist, White contends that a careful heed to the minutiae of linguistic analysis allows us to avoid the famed Humean is/ought dichotomy, and instead recognize a "hybrid language" wherein the frameworks of description and evaluation are used simultaneously. White's point here is quite poignant as witnessed by the intricate blend of *description* and *narration* in historical exposition, where the language of description and evaluation admit of no Tractatus-like conjunctive breakdown. As Wittgenstein suggested, philosophy involves us with various grammars of life, as in the case of juridical reasoning where "in the process of answering what is on the linguistic surface a question of fact, the judge can advert to his own values, to his own ideas of what is good for the community."

Turning to matters of educational policy, White takes issue with James Perkins' tripartite depiction of the role of the contemporary American university; White suggesting instead that the principal function of the University consists in research and instruction, and only secondarily in public service. To be sure, White strongly insists on the need of the University to engage in critical moral analysis in regard to what role the government is to play in light of scientific advancement. Nonetheless, I am disappointed to find White's concern directed *only* at *external* moral analysis by the University, namely at its role in public affairs, and White's nebulous reticence on the pressing issue, indeed perhaps the central academic malaise of the modern University, namely the need for *internal* moral analysis of its own commitment to the institution of tenure and academic freedom for those not so safeguarded.

Kant spoke of the categorical imperative to never treat persons as means but only as ends in themselves, but even the casual observer of academic life can realize that such an imperative has little application to the ranks of the non-tenured. In my judgement, the viability of higher education in America very much depends on the unconditional abolition of the institution of tenure. I suspect White would disagree with my vehement opposition to tenure, but I would like to think he would understand my resolve, for as he writes of G. E. Moore: "There was never a consideration . . . which was to get in the way of *finding* the truth, never any sense that a distinguished colleague's pain should get in the way of *saying* what was true."

In regard to theological pedagogy, White opposes "instruction *in* religion" (as represented by Niebuhr, Maritain, etc.) in secular schools, but upholds "instruction *about* religion" as a legitimate enterprise in the curriculum of secular institutions. Here I am inclined to think there may be a distinction without a difference. It is interesting to note that White maintains that religion is not just a cognitive discipline, but also a conative, affective pursuit in the Jamesian sense, as well. However, I confess to considerable puzzlement about this neat dualistic distinction drawn by White. Since he has previously favorably underscored language as a cultural instrument, and apparently

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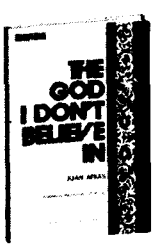

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manifested empathy with the "whole man" philosophical approach of James, I fail to understand why White is so adamant about maintaining this rigid distinction between instruction *in* versus instruction *about* religion. Indeed, this Manichaean display of dualism on White's part is clearly inconsistent with his previous chiding of Ayer's recent interpretation of James' pragmatism for neglecting the fact that "intellect, will, taste, and passion are *all* said to cooperate in the formation of a philosophical opinion." Moreover, all this opens White to a somewhat similar objection he leveled against Dewey's pragmatism, wherein White accused the monistic Dewey of inconsistently smuggling in dualistic assumptions in offering both a Millian account of *a priori* knowledge, and then later restoring the traditional positivistic distinction between the *a priori* and the *a posteriori* in the form of existential versus ideational propositions.

In conclusion, I too share White's distrust of Niebuhr and his overplay of the role of original sin in human history, as well as White's critique of Maritan for the latter's insistence that natural law reveals the essence of man's moral obligation, but I hasten to admire their attempt to not only interpret but influence the world. At all costs, I find puzzling White's lavish praise for G. E. Moore, the philosopher who in his *Principia Ethica* gave us the nefarious formula of non-naturalism: "If I am asked 'What is good?' my answer is that good is good, and that is the end of the matter"!

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The Seduction of the Spirit

HARVEY COX

Simon and Schuster, $8.95

GREGORY BAUM

The Seduction of the Spirit is a personal, informal conversation with Harvey Cox about the use and abuse of religion. The book contains a great deal of autobiographical information that helps the reader to understand the quest and achievement of this American theologian. One of the main points of the book, is, in fact, the importance of story-telling in religion and theology. Among the many stories that deserve to be told, autobiography has a special place. A man who tells his story clarifies his own past, repossesses his present situation, and opens himself to an imaginative future. But his story is also helpful to the listeners: his story may also become theirs. His story may help them to come to greater self-knowledge and to greater openness in regard to the future. Cox feels that this aspect of religion and theology has been neglected under the impact of modern rationalism and the academic setting in which ministers of religion are trained.

In modern times, story-telling has become central in psychoanalytic therapy. The entire analytic process could be described as a way of learning to tell your story in such a perceptive way, and from such a perspective that you experience liberation from the destructive pressures of the past and are opened to the unexpected and marvelous in the future. Sam Keen has introduced this approach into theology. Unless we are able to tell our story, he proposes, we cannot safely trust our own reflections. Only if you tell your story, are you able to decipher the function which thought has in your life. Is it a head trip to get away from the real problems? Or is it a creative attempt, grounded in personal life, to wrestle with the real problems? Or is it a mixture of both?

Harvey Cox strongly affirms what some authors have called the intentionality of knowledge. We always seek to know for the sake of satisfying wishes, solving problems, protecting ourselves from dangers or creating a meaningful life. Knowledge is part of the process by which men build their world and constitute themselves as human beings. Unless we are able to discover the intentionality of knowledge, our own and that of others, we are unable to understand the meaning of thought. Harvey Cox wants the readers of his book to understand what makes him search, reason, and produce theological reflections.

Harvey Cox is keenly aware of the abuses to which religion has been subjected. He calls this the seduction of the Spirit. The two foci of his critique are derived from Marx and Freud. For Marx, religion was an expression of false consciousness that prevented people from recognizing the true problems of their society; for Freud, religion was an illusion or projection that kept people from coming to self-knowledge and dealing with the realities of their lives. While Cox readily acknowledges these negative aspects of religion, he stresses the positive aspect of religion, especially of popular religion. This is, in fact, one of the most significant points of his book—the positive appreciation of the people's religion.

While radical critics tend to become elitist when it comes to the taste and the religion of ordinary men and women, Cox attaches great importance to the people's religious practices, however much they may deviate from the

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religious norm. He sees in these practices not only the signs of the people's alienation and oppression: he also discerns in them a creative attempt to survive despite the odds and to make life livable, joyful and human. The revolutions of the future may have to tie in with the religions of the people. Cox's compassionate look at popular religion deserves careful attention. Are the observations he offers to justify his thesis correct? Or does he offer a slightly romantic view of popular religion? The question is surely an important one. Could it be that the eagerness of reformers to replace popular religion by the religion of the educated destroys the very structures that make life livable and human to the people?

Cox's book is readable. What is unfortunate is that it does not quite add up to a book. The reader has the impression that previously written pieces are assembled and woven together into a single story. While this may well be a good method for writing a book, what is less successful in this case is that the important points raised in these pages do not get the attention they deserve. Still if you like Harvey Cox and the approach to theology he stands for (as this reviewer does), then you will enjoy the book. It is casual, friendly, and persuasive.

IN BRIEF

THE HOOKMEN *by Antoni Gronowicz, Dodd, $6.95.* Working on an authorized biography of industrialist William De Jager, and by extension the history of American power, Franklin Don Kapistrot meets and writes about those personally and professionally associated with De Jager, among whom are his daughter Tessa and her fiancé Bill Wattson. Except that Tessa may be only De Jager's foster child, and her real father, separated from her in wartime Europe, may be Kapistrot himself. And except that Wattson—who is busy writing his own analysis of power, a novel (which Kapistrot reads) about the German siege of Stalingrad, led by General Herman von Hoth, probably related to one Wilhelm von Hoth, ancestor of De Jager and founder of the Coast to Coast Railroad over which De Jager now presides—may be his chronicler's chronicler since the heroic defenders of Stalingrad include the Russian Tania and her lover the Pole Jan Wolski, or Kowalski, evident *Doppelgängers* of Tessa's mother and Kapistrot. Who is writing about whom? Antoni Gronowicz' own novel contains another dozen major characters and at least three more narrative schemes besides these. *The Hookmen* is ambitious, protean, dazzlingly intricate; it is also very much where fiction is these days.

MARK TAYLOR

Michael Novak (Cont.)

ble" in the heat of actual conflict, the executives and editors and writers of the six major national media (the *Times,* the *Post,* CBS, NBC, *Time* and *Newsweek*) have disproportionate influence over the terms of discourse in American politics. Face-to-face with that influence, the Administration felt a certain helplessness. Face-to-face with a Presirent who did not see the world in their terms, many associated with the media have also experienced helplessness. Not to mention its attendant rage.

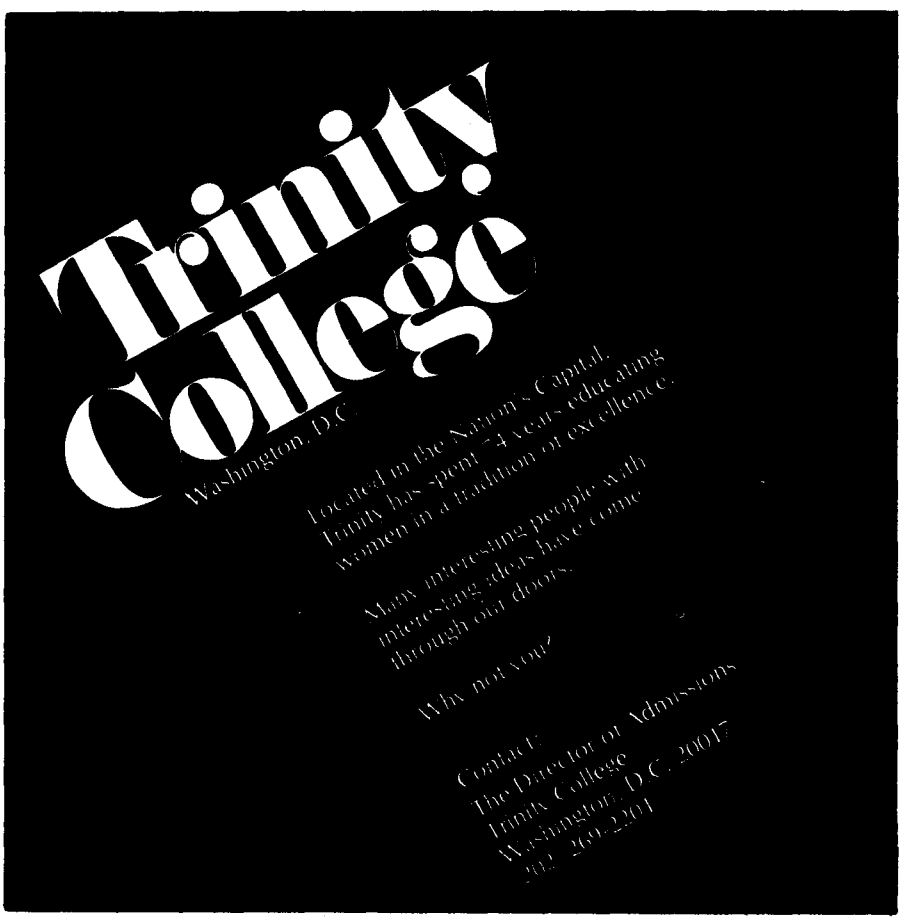
It is not a bad system that keeps so many, even among the powerful, feeling helpless. A civilized people needs to learn to live with certain kinds of helplessness. It needs a list of devices for putting fractious rage to more creative use than breaking-and-entering.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 3)

the present majority of the Court ruling against parochial aid will not be there indefinitely.

(MSGR.) CARL J. RYAN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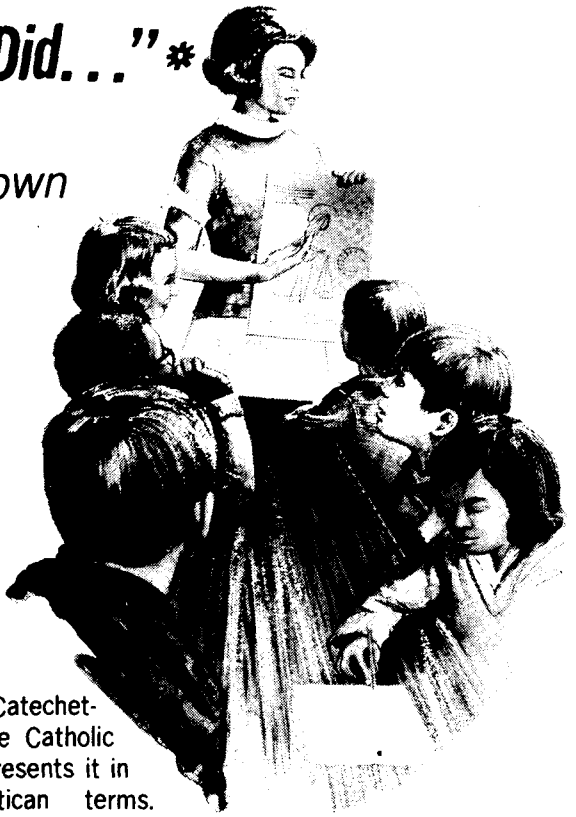

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